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leading them into new activities beneficial to Japanese control and economic exploitation. Whatever chance Japan had for gaining the sympathy of the people of North China was precluded by the occupying army's indiscriminate looting and destruction of property and inhuman treatment of the conquered people.[25]

H. The Role of the Universities

Alghouth Shansi and Hopei remained the stronghold of political reaction up to the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the voice of New China occasionally burst forth from the North to electrify the whole nation. After the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, a need arose to define the goals and values of the new society. In order to do so, a number of intellectuals began re-examination of China's past and of existing Western ideologies. The dissemination of the new goals and values thus formed began about 1915 and resulted in what is known as the New Culture Movement. Although the movement was nationwide, its

25. See references preceding footnote; Bisson, op. cit., pp. 293, 301; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946, pp. 63-66.

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185 most famous leaders were the chancellor of the Peking University, Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, and the faculty he had gathered around him. The original emphasis of these men was on China's need for individualism, science, and democracy. After the Bolshevik victory in Russia, some of these intellectual leaders like Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao turned toward Communism as the answer to China's needs. Other leaders at Peking such as Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei and Hu Shih continued to espouse individualism, science, and democracy.[26]

668 Li Ta-chao, a native of Hopei, is now honored by the Communists as the leading figure in the formation of the Chinese Communist Party, although Ch'en Tu-hsiu was a far more influential figure in the early Communist movement and headed the party from its founding in 1921 until made the scapegoat for the Communist failure to achieve power in 1927. However, Li Ta-chao was one of the first prominent Chinese to embrace Marxism, one of the founders of the Communist Party in China, and a dedicated worker in spreading its influence. He gave the penniless Mao Tse-tung a job on the latter's arrival at Peking in 1918 and was instrumental in developing Mao's trend toward Marxism.

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26. On the New Culture Movement and its leaders see Fairbank and Teng, op. cit., pp. 231-258. On the Communist phase of the movement see ibid.; and Benjamin I. Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1951, pp. 7-27.

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668 Ch'en Tu-hsiu played a secondary role in this regard, according to Mao.[27] In 1927, Li was arrested and executed for his radical activities by Chang Tso-lin.

185 668 The culmination of the New Culture Movement was the May Fourth Movement of 1919. It began as a series of demonstrations by the students of Peking University in protest against the Versailles Treaty provision validating Japanese control of Shantung. The students launched demonstrations and propaganda campaigns that grew into a national movement and anti-Japanese boycott joined by bankers, merchants, and other articulate sections of the country. It forced the resignation of the warlord government of Tuan Ch'i-jui, moved the Chinese delegation to refuse to sign the Versailles Treaty, instigated a rising tide of nationalism at home, and turned China away from trust and hope in the Western powers and toward a search for salvation through the aid of the Soviet Union and the use of Communist organization and methods. From the May Fourth Movement can also

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27. See Mao's autobiography as recorded by Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp. 134, 140-41.

185 668 be traced the injection of strength and substance into the Kuomintang and the birth of the Communist Party. The Communist regime recognizes a debt to the May Fourth Movement and views it as the source of the revolutionary stream which carried the Communists to victory.[28]

Another nationwide movement was inspired by the Peking University students at the end of 1935 when North China was coming under increasing Japanese control. Protesting against Nanking's appeasement of Japan, the students in Peking demanded an immediate cessation of civil war between the Nationalist Government and the Communists, the resistance of a united China against Japanese inroads in

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28. The student role in the May Fourth Movement and subsequent events is described in Kiang (Chiang) Wen-han, The Chinese Student Movement, New York, Kings Crown Press, 1948, pp. 75-102. On the reorientation of the Kuomintang, the rise of the Chinese Communist Party, and Russia's role in both, see MacNair, op. cit., pp. 65-227, Schwartz, op. cit.; T'ang Leang (Liang) -li, The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution, London, G. Routledge and Sons, 1930; Harold Isaacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, rev. ed., Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953; Robert C. North, Moscow and Chinese Communists, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953.

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185 North China, the institution of democracy
668 and individual rights, and the participation in the government of non-Kuomintang groups, including representatives of the Communist Party. The program was denounced by the Nanking Government, which continued to insist that national unification through the military defeat of the Communists must precede resistance against Japan and the inauguration of democracy in China.

Because the program favored the Communists at a time when the "United Front" policy of the Comintern was in force, they endorsed the student proposals. But so did the non-Communist middle-class and professional groups throughout China. Following the student lead, National Salvation Association units were organized everywhere in the country, and the informal membership of the movement in 1936 grew to third party proportions. Despite the jailing of its adult and student leaders by the government, the association continued to insist that Chiang Kai-shek was the only possible leader of a united China. The movement's activities in educating large segments of the population to an awareness of the nation's peril, was in large part responsible for the enthusiasm, spontaneity, and scope of the public response that greeted Chiang's decision in 1937 to resist Japan.[29]

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29. Kiang (Chiang), op. cit., pp. 101-33; Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 175-78; and Bisson, op. cit., pp. 135-47.

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IV. THE RISE AND VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

A. The Beginning of Communism in Peking

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668 The possibilities of Communism as a solution for China's ills was first entertained by some of the leaders of the New Culture Movement at Peking University. In 1918, Li Ta-chao formed at the university a Society for the Study of Marxism which included Mao Tse-tung among its membership. Ch'en Tu-hsiu approved of the group's activities, although he took no part in them. In May 1919, an entire issue of the New Culture Movement's leading journal, Hsin Ch'ing-nien (New Youth or La jeunesse), was devoted to the outcome of the study group's investigations. The articles, including one by Li Ta-chao, were on the whole critical and analytical rather than partisan. Yet within a year, both the organizer of the study group and Ch'en Tu-hsiu were in the Marxist camp.[30]

668 While Ch'en left Peking for Shanghai, Li stayed in the capital and organized a labor group. The lack of Communist sympathizers

30. Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 7-36; North, op. cit., pp. 53-71.

V. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OR KUO-YÜ

197 185 Since there is no standard spoken Chinese, and since the various Chinese dialects in general are sufficiently different to make them mutually unintelligible to various degrees, many difficulties naturally arise. The Chinese themselves have long felt the need for a national language that will help them solve such difficulties. Consequently, as early as 1911, a movement was launched to unify the national language, and a system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Peiping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

197 During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan, when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the North China Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

212 and commercial organizations are still using literary Chinese in the transaction of their routine business.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

212 185 Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of Chinese more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average Chinese citizen in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily

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accessible to the illiterate masses.

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B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other system of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages. The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University, and is known as the Yale System.

In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones

of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai^2) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai^3) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai^4) "to sell."

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinxua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Adocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of learning to read and write Chinese much easier and less time-consuming. For example, ts'ai 纔 "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and 鐵 t'ieh "iron" to look like 铁. If a satisfactory principle of simplification that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the original characters, the adoption of such a system may turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their

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212 effort to become literate.
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D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y. C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of their flexibility in forming compounds with other characters and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

VII. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin as saying that the

212 language of a people cannot be artifically changed
●185 and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, to combat illiteracy the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement in his On New Democracy that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as the ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communist promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that, "Latinization is the great revolution of the East"[3] in order to justify their argument.

198 The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays, and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial

1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. [next page]

on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese and stressed the need for the study of grammar so that "the Chinese language will not become corrupt and impure."[4]

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, the current trend is to promote accelerated methods of language teaching and to standardize and formalize many simplified characters already in use by the people in their handwriting. The Peking government is applying little effort, however, to the popularization of Latinized Chinese. One of the most publicized methods to accelerate language learning was introduced in 1948 by Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the armed forces. Ch'i champions the use of the "National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in foregoing sections of this chapter) as the "walking stick" for new learners. The phonetic symbols are employed as a pronunciation aid to the students. This method was said to be so successful that the Peking government in May 1952 recognized Ch'i's contribution by inviting him to the capital and awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has been given official blessing. When the Committee on

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2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], (Monthly), Peking, March 1955, p. 28.

5. [see next page]

212 the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry
● 185 of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the committee announced that 57 simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] On October 15, 1955, an All-China Conference on Language Reform was called by the committee to revise and enlarge the proposed list of simplified characters.

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1954 there were over 300 such publications with a total circulation of about 500,000 already in the market.[7] In February 1952, magazines published in Peking frequently printed articles promoting the Latinization of Chinese.[8]

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5. [continued from previous page] People's Education, May 1952, p. 4.

6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

7. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yü-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language], Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she, 1949, pp.458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit., pp. 131-34.

8. Hsin-wen-tzu Pan-yüeh-k'an [New Language Semimonthly], Shanghai, February 16, 1952, p. 28.

212 There are other recent developments in
185 language reform. One of them is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation marks. On October 5, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization.

Another recent development is the practice of writing Chinese horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions on such a practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and New China Monthly, since January 1, 1955, have been printing their texts horizontally.

563 As to the languages of minority nationality
212 groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must be given their own languages, and then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably). Since there is no concentration of any minority nationals in North China, the study and use of languages of minority nationalities, therefore, are confined to such institutions as the Central College for Minority Nationalities and the medical school of Peking University.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191 Before 1949, the use of foreign languages,

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

527 657 the celebration of Children's Day 1953 in Tientsin. Present were the mayor of Tientsin, representatives of the local Communist Party and the Youth Corps, and "fighting heroes" and "labor models." The mayor reported that the number of primary schools in Tientsin had increased; the enrollment of 248,000 children was double that of the year before. The various kindergartens and nursing schools in Tientsin were charged with the care of 10,840 younger children.[28]

657 183 The first conference of workers for the welfare of women and children was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production the prime concern, the conference decided that the objective of welfare work was to serve the masses of working women and their children. Its principal tasks were to promote better health and better health conditions and to solve the problems that arose in the rearing and education of the children of working people. At the confernece it was reported that some 15,700 child welfare organizations, including creches, kindergartens, and relief institutions, had been established on the China Mainland. Another report claimed that in the two years ending November 1951, some 4,340 persons had been trained in child-care and 3,743 had been trained to care for both women and children. In the same period, 7,295,095 persons

28. Ibid.

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657 were reported to have seen the 128 exhibits
•185 arranged by propaganda agencies to promote general health.[29]

By the end of 1952, the Communists asserted, there were 34,000 public welfare agencies for women and children throughout the Mainland, with additional mobile units organized under all the provincial governments. In mining and construction centers, in other enterprises, in organizations and schools, 2,738 creches were in operation in 1953; in cities, 4,346 "street creches" had been established, and in the rural areas 148,200 creches had been organized to care for some 850,000 children from families engaged in agriculture.[30] During the annual convention of the Chinese People's National Committee for the Protection of Children, held in Peking in October 1954, the secretary of the committee reported that there were 425,000 younger children in the kindergartens, and the primary schools had been thrown open to the children of farmers and industrial workers. During the previous year, some 3,000 books for children had been published and nine picture-story (comic strip) periodicals were in circulation for younger readers. In the year 1953, the same report stated, 26 motion pictures for children had been circulated, including some films imported from Russia for which the

29. New China Daily, May 30, 1953, p. 3.
30. Ibid., April 18, 1953, p. 4.

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657 narration and dialogue had been dubbed in Chin
•185 ese.[31]

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

729 In Communist China, aid to the families of
736 "martyrs" and servicemen has been given a great deal of publicity. Concern for the welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families is specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the first documents ratified by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and members of the revolutionary forces who are in need shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war, providing them with means of livelihood or with occupation."[32] However, the fact that the nationwide campaign did not begin until late 1950 indicates that the need for provisions of this sort increased during the fighting in Korea.[33] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs promulgated five sets of regulations providing compensation for dependents of service-

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31. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Nov. 27, 1954, p. 1.

32. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1949, p. 10.

33. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, p. 18.

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635 A resolution giving full support to the proposed constitution was passed.

The governor of Hopei Province, Lin T'ieh reported on the progress of the government over the past five years and on the tasks to be accomplished in the future. In the debate that followed, delegates from rural areas emphasized the importance of the work for flood-prevention, the improvement of methods for growing cotton, and ways of fulfilling the production target. Also the inadequacies of some government measures were pointed out. About 2,200 proposals were made by the delegates, and some 1,160 proposals were forwarded to the departments concerned for action.

At the conclusion of the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei, 52 members were elected as delegates to the National People's Congress.[6]

635 185 At the second session of the Provincial People's Congress, Lin T'ieh, the governor, reported on government activities during 1954 and the tasks for 1955. The province was

6. People's Daily, August 11, 1954.

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635 to increase agricultural production, continue to develop its industries, and fulfill the
•185 production target fixed by the central government. The goals set were as follows: increase grain production 16.5 per cent; increase cotton production 14 per cent; and increase the production of peanuts 27.5 per cent. The more than 100,000 producers' co-operatives were to be consolidated. Irrigation, flood-control, and the use of new plowing tools were emphasized as means of raising provincial production. Before the conclusion of the session, delegates re-elected Lin T'ieh governor, and elected 6 deputy-governor, 36 members of the provincial People's court, the president of the People's High Court of Hopei, and 9 presidents of the intermediate courts.[7]

C. Operation of the Provincial Government of Shansi

635 The first Provincial People's Congress of Shansi was convened August 3-11, 1954, with an attendance of 315 members. They studied the constitutional draft and passed a resolution to support it. The proceedings followed the plan of the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei. Special

7. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] February 9, 1955.

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633 number of other bureaus for public construction work and public utilities. A bureau for minority nationalities and another for overseas Chinese affairs can be added if necessary.

633 178 There is no doubt that Peking since 1949 has been modernized. There are new roads, better systems for drainage and communications, and new housing facilities. A report at the opening session of the first municipal congress by P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, indicates the areas where the local government has been most active in improving the municipality. P'eng Chen gave the value of industrial products produced in 1954 as being 6.76 times that of 1949, the value of commercial transactions in 1953 as being 4.33 times that of 1949, and the value of agricultural products produced in Peking and its suburbs in 1953 as being 1.21 times that of 1950. New housing developments were reported to have added 6,700,000 square meters (72,092,000 sq. ft.) of living space to the city, an area equal to the total housing previously available in Peking.

633 185 In his report on the work of the municipality of Peking, P'eng Chen said that emphasis was to be placed upon the elimination of traditional evils -- corruption, theft, and so forth; preparations for the "liberation of Formosa; socialistic transformation

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633 ideological reform; the elimination of counter-
185 revolutionary activities; and a revitalization of the economic life of the workers in accordance with the plan of the National Congress and the newly promulgated Constitution.

633 Chang Yu-yü, a deputy-mayor, read the financial statement for 1953 and the budget proposed for 1954. Taking 1950 as the base year (index 100), the revenues of Peking municipality was reported to have increased as follows:

1951	238
1952	355
1953	634
1954	647

Chang attributed the great increase of revenue to the fact that many public-owned industries had been developed by the municipality: revenue from private enterprises had become of much less importance. Over 46 per cent of municipal expenditures had been devoted to work of economic reconstruction according to Chang.

This first municipal congress of Peking had a membership of 539 delegates. They unanimously elected Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Liu Shao-ch'i as representatives to the National People's Congress. Twenty-eight

471 China intensively, the Communists apparently hope to establish not only an industrial base this side of the Great Wall both to complement and to balance the industrial redoubt that is Manchuria, but also to furnish an advance base for the exploitation of the potential of the reputedly fabulous Northwest. Since the political center of gravity of Communist China now rests in North China, this economic reasoning would appear to be in line with the Communists' political thinking.

III. DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS UNDER THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

• 185 The relative weight given to North China in industrial development may be seen in some of the construction projects scheduled under Communist China's First Five-Year Plan. According to one survey, which lists 144 construction projects other than the cotton textile industry and some of the coal mines, 12 major constructions are credited to North China, second only to Manchuria's 95, which represent the lion's share.[8/] These projects include the Lung-yen iron mine, the Kailan, Ta-t'ung, and Feng-feng coal mines, power plants at Tientsin, Taiyuan, and T'ung-chou, and ordnance plants at Taiyuan and Chin-yüan. This list of major constructions is, of course, not exhaustive and would be much longer if the many new cotton mills were included. The following

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8/ Yuan-li Wu, op. cit., pp. 265-69.

185 survey will serve to provide more particulars about some of the individual industries.

IV. SURVEY OF SELECTED INDUSTRIES

316 A. Coal Mining

North China accounts for a large part of Communist China's coal production outside Manchuria. This situation is clearly illustrated by the following figures, comparing the region's coal output with that of China proper as well as with that of the Chinese Mainland as a whole. 9/

9/ New China News Agency (NCNA), Dec. 28, 1953; Ti Ch'ao-pai, "I Nien-lai Ti Chung-kuo Ching-chi Ch'ing-k'uang," ["Communist China's Economic Conditions in the Past Year,"], Economic Weekly, Jan., 1950, p. 7; Chung-kuo Kung-yeh [China's Industry] , Shanghai, Mar. 17, 1950, p. 18.

464 employment relief in Peking: (1) all of the workers in factories, mines, and shops employing more than ten persons shall contribute one per cent of their wages to a relief fund; (2) those who receive the benefit of the relief fund shall pay back one per cent of the total amount received after return to work; (3) unemployed workers who receive relief are obliged to work for the government and continue their political education. Under the last regulation, many unemployed workers in Peking had been drafted for municipal construction projects.[41]

V. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND CHINESE LABOR

461 185 After the initiation of the First Five-year Plan in 1953, the Communists announced that all manpower and material must be utilized to increase production in order to complete the industrialization of China, and that the improvement of the living standard must depend upon the development of production; therefore, the Chinese people, especially the industrial workers, must strive for this goal in a "spirit of bitter struggle."[42]

According to the plan, China's total industrial output is scheduled to be increased by 98.3 per cent during the period of the first Five-year Plan, ending 1957. In April 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive calling for a renewal of the labor emulation drive,

41. Worker's Daily, Feb. 17, 1950, p. 1.
42. People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 5.

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185 which was to be expanded from publicly-owned enterprises to all sections of the Communist economy.

For example, in Shih-chi ng-shan industrial district of the Peking suburbs in 1954, labor emulation was extended to include the families of workers. . Urban street offices in this area forced families to persuade their husbands and sons to forfeit their annual New Year's vacation and remain at work. In the Chien-ts'ao-p'ing industrial and mining district of Taiyuan, Shansi Province, urban street offices organized 777 family members to support those workers who had agreed to do additional factory work during 1954.[43] On the whole, the Communists have overlooked no opportunity to increase labor productivity since the announcement of the first Five-year Plan.

Upon reviewing the result of the first six months of the Five-year Plan, the Communists were alarmed to discover that production in the steel industry and in the mines was most unsatisfactory. Some 33 per cent of the enterprises had failed to fulfill production goals assigned to them. Light industry also lagged, with an estimated 26.5 per cent of the production goals fulfilled.[44]

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43. People's Daily, April 9, 1955; Enlightenment Daily, April 24, 1955.

44. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, March 20, 1953.

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The Communists attributed the crux of the failure to the lack of discipline among the workers and the failure of management to assume its share of responsibility. The regime reported that state and municipal enterprises in Peking had an average rate of absenteeism of 10 per cent. In the first quarter of 1953, the city's publicly owned enterprises reported a loss of 44,500 workdays, at least one-third of which were not due to illness or other legitimate reasons. In one coal mine in the western suburbs, the attendance in one month was down to 76 per cent.[45] The All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive concerning labor discipline in July 1953, and the Government Administration Council promulgated "Regulations on the Conduct of Labor in State-operated Enterprises" in May 1954. The Ministry of Heavy Indsutry ordered factories and mines to institute a "responsibility system" in August 1953 to make certain that workers and management knew exactly what was required of them.

The Communists have not admitted that the cause of the incipient failure of the Five-year Plan is the lack of skilled labor in present-day China. According to an estimate made by Cheng Chu-yüan, the Communists will need 2,500,000 skilled workers to carry out the tasks proposed in the Five-year Plan, and at present possess

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45. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, August 6, 1953, pp. 162-63.

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185 no more than 600,000 reasonably skilled workers.[46]

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46. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Wu-nien Chi-hua P"ou-hsi [Analysis of the Five-year Plan of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, 1955, pp. 317-38.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

PART 2. GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER VI

Government

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TING HSIEN was widely known as a Model Hsien of Hopei (Chihli) province. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü,[1] who held office from May 12, 1914, to September 26, 1916, applied to the provincial government for permission to reorganize the area as a model hsien. The permission was granted and offices for Model Plans were opened in each of the six districts in May, 1916. In each office there were four directors who were chosen by the gentry. There were also six assistants and one secretary who took charge of the affairs of the office. The directors were to assist the magistrate in making improvements in the district and were to make suggestions and report to the yamen concerning developments in the program. The assistants, acting under the direction of the magistrate or the district directors, were to promote the public welfare and supervise the work of the village heads and vice-heads.

The plans called for a monthly conference on model hsien affairs. The gentry were invited to attend and give their suggestions. All decisions of the conference were reported to the yamen. If t[illegible] were approved by the magistrate the district offices were to help enforce them. As part of the model program, schools were established, adult education was promoted, public lectures were presented, the police force was reorganized, industry, commerce, communications, finance, and the administration of justice were improved.

Under the guidance and stimulus of the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü the program evidently was very effective. Our reports show that 9 per cent of the schools in the hsien were established in 1914 and almost 35 per

1. Sun Fa-hsü, whose courtesy name was Sun Shun-chai, was born in 1869 in T'ung-ch'eng Hsien, Anhui. During the revolution of 1911 he served under Li Yuan-hung. After his service in Ting Hsien he was appointed civil governor of Shansi under Yen Hsi-shan. The fact that he came from the same distict as Tuan Ch'i-jui is given as one of the reasons for his rapid political rise.

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 cent in 1915. In the Experimental District 75 per cent of the 327 temples
185 given up from 1882 to 1928 were discontinued during the three years 1914–16, when Sun was in office. The usually conservative countryside was willing to accept Sun's new proposals and program as they fitted in with the enthusiasm for change that followed the Revolution of 1911.

It is not clear how much influence the model hsien program had after Sun left Ting Hsien, but the organization was continued and provision was made for its support in the hsien expense budget. In 1929 the hsien received $6,000 from the provincial treasury for the model hsien program. This apparently was an annual grant. In 1931 Ting Hsien still had the reputation of being a model hsien.

634 Before the Revolution of 1911 Ting Hsien was known as Ting Chou, as it was the headquarters of a chou government. Its name was changed to Ting Hsien in 1913, when the provincial government was reorganized and the chou, administrative areas that included several hsien, were discontinued.

Under the empire a hsien magistrate ordinarily had an official staff of assistant magistrate, prison warden, patrol officers, and clerks, besides his personal staff of secretaries and confidential servants. The work of the hsien was carried on through eight executive offices: ceremonies, documents, engineering, judicial, military, personnel, taxation, and treasury.

The reorganization plan promulgated by the National Government in 1913 called for four main sections in the hsien government: home affairs, finance, education, and industry. There also were to be six subsections with the necessary secretaries and clerks. The magistrate Sun Chia-yu in 1913 applied for permission to make the required changes but the actual reorganization was not carried out until 1914 when Sun Fa-hsü was the magistrate. He established three instead of four sections, combining education and industry. For the convenience of the people he added an information office. The model hsien program, which gave more emphasis to public welfare work, was introduced in 1916.

In 1920 an executive committee was organized to develop plans for constructive work in the hsien.

The 1913 reorganization called for the separation of the administrative and judicial functions of the magistrate's office and the creation of a separate court of justice with assessors in charge of civil and criminal cases. The magistrate was to retain the right to review the decisions of

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634 665 tion when the Party came to power, following the success of the Nationalist armies and the capture of Peking. The Party Board was the basic organization. It had 208 members: 82 teachers, 58 students, 20 farmers, 17 officers, 13 merchants, 5 officials, 2 soldiers, 2 policemen, and 14 others. The work of the Board was carried on by an Executive Committee with a secretarial organization, training and propaganda divisions, and an Inspection Committee. In 1929 the activities of the Board were supported by a grant of $16,800 from hsien funds.

The work of the Party Board was discontinued in 1930 because of political changes but it was begun again in 1931, after the military situation had cleared.

After its organization in 1928 the Board promptly set up five subsidiary organizations for farmers, merchants, laborers, students, and women. Each organization was to promote the interests of its special group. Executive and inspection committees usually were organized, but the subsidiary organizations evidently were set up primarily to function at the instigation of the Party Board. They were given no budgets and any incidental expenses of meetings and other activities were met from Party funds. They all sent representatives to conferences and rallies, parades, and committee meetings. Meetings of the anti-opium and the finance committees were specially mentioned.

467 Before 1928 labor unions were unknown in Ting Hsien. The old gilds had included both the masters and the men. After the establishment of the Party Board, labor unions were promptly organized and the General Labor Union of Ting Hsien was organized by the Tailors' Union, Shoemakers' Union, Silversmiths' Union, Carpenters' Union, and Barbers' Union.

As the Farmers' and Women's Associations covered the entire hsien the farmers had central, district, and village organizations, the women, central, district, branch, and sub-branch organizations.

634 185 The National Conference on Home Affairs, held in December, 1932, took hsien government reform as its central theme of discussion. The Conference recommended that an Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction be established in the provinces willing to experiment with the problem of rural reconstruction, that an Experiment Area be set aside as the laboratory of the Institute, and that the Area be under the direct and complete control of the Institute. This recommendation was enacted into law by the sanction of the Central Political Council, and

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the Hopei Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction was organized in the spring of 1933. Ting Hsien was selected as the location of the Institute and as its experimental district. The General Director of the Mass Education Movement was appointed as president of the Institute and other members of the Movement staff were given responsible positions in the Institute. Franklin Lee, head of the Movement's Social Survey Department, was appointed concurrently as director of the Survey Department of the Institute.

Magistrate

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The chief officer of the hsien government was the hsien chang, or magistrate. Ordinarily he was appointed by the Central Government on the recommendation of the Provincial Governor and held office at his pleasure. Under the Manchu government it was the rule that no man could be appointed to office in his native province and that a hsien magistrate's term should not be more than three years. Those rules were also generally followed under the Republic.

While the magistrate was responsible to the provincial government and was required to carry out its orders and instructions, his position and local power as both chief judicial officer and chief administrator made it possible for him to affect greatly the life and development of the hsien. The character and quality of the administration was largely determined by him. Ordinarily the magistrates followed the customary procedures, produced the usual revenue or perhaps a small increase, and made few changes in the established routine. Coming from another province, they had no personal interest in developing the area. Their tenure of office was usually relatively short (from 1901 to 1928 the average was only 13 months) so there was little incentive to initiate a program that would take some time to carry out. The magistracy being the lowest of the appointive offices of the provincial government, the incumbents, hopeful for promotion, would not be apt to initiate any undirected changes. Occasionally a man like Sun Fa-hsü, stimulated and aided by the enthusiasm and idealism of the Revolution, made great changes.

Twenty-four men served 25 terms as magistrate in the 27 years from May 16, 1901 to September 21, 1928. One man was given two short appointments. The shortest term was one month and eight days. Four terms were less than two months, eight were less than six months, and

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634 T'ang river to build extra bridges across the river besides those for the main roads and required repairs to be made on the roads. The Bureau reported that under its encouragement another 800,000 trees were planted and 900 additional wells had been dug.

634 185 The programs laid out by the Bureau were very extensive. In the Agricultural Section they included the promotion and development of silk worm culture, the growing of mulberry trees, increasing the orchards and forests, improving the soil and the farming implements. The Industrial Section planned to show the people how to make oil, soap, paper, and artificial fertilizer, how to improve the native cloth and other home industries. They also planned to open a flour mill, organize an electric company, and establish leather tanning. The general plans included correspondence courses, lecture programs for the farmers, agricultural and industrial exhibits, agricultural experiment stations, farmers' forest associations and forest protection police, a monthly magazine, and a general market. Lack of funds and disturbed conditions in North China prevented the implementation of most of these plans.

Agricultural Experiment Station

654 An Agricultural Experiment Station was established in 1916. Twenty mu of land were set aside for its use and $1,180 a year of the money received from the tooth (sales) tax on cotton was allocated to its budget. In 1919 the program was extended by opening a cotton experiment station south of the pagoda, but in 1928 the station was closed and the land used for a public playground.

In 1917 the magistrate instructed the head of the Agricultural Experiment Station to open a tree nursery. Seven hundred mu of land were borrowed from the girls' school and an appropriation of $166 was made for the work. In 1918 the trees in two temples were cut down and sold and the money was used to erect the buildings for the nursery and additional funds were granted for the program. Considerable progress must have been made, for in 1920 the provincial inspector approved the program and sent a certificate of commendation.

In 1921 the girls' school was given 100 mu of land for experiments in raising mulberry trees for the feeding of silk worms.

In 1928 an inventory of the nursery showed 5,500 Chinese cedars, 5,800 silk trees (Albizzia Julibrissin), 6,000 Chinese ash, 7,000 Lindera, 9,800 white poplar, 12,000 cedars, 75,000 thorn ash, and 250,000 mul-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 454 see the progress made. In 1924 the amount held by the society totaled $3,000. The society was still operating in 1931.

Patriotic and Improvement Societies

621 185 A Patriotic Society was organized in 1915 to help create patriotic feelings in the village. It had a head, a secretary, and an investigator. Its duties were to persuade the members to buy government bonds, encourage the young men to enlist when the government was recruiting soldiers, and promote the purchase of home-made goods. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü came to Chai Ch'eng to give lectures on patriotism. After he left Ting Hsien, the patriotic society was discontinued and only its name remained.

The Virtue Put Into Practice Society was organized in 1914 and was especially active in 1915. Its meetings were attended by some 150 men. Women held separate meetings with some 80 attending. After 1917 the society gradually declined and the meetings were discontinued. In 1931 only the name remained.

The Work Together Society was organized in 1915 to develop public spirit. It had a head and a committee of nine. Its purpose was to create mutual friendship, to console those who mourned, to provide mutual help in time of difficulty, and to befriend others with honesty and sincerity. No meetings were held after the first one.

The Customs Improvement Society was organized in 1915 to improve the customs and habits of the village. It was still operating in 1931. The chairman of the society was the village head. Early marriage, expensive funerals, and foot-binding were some of the customs they worked to change. In reporting on the work of the society, the officers stated that some 80 per cent of the men used to marry before they were 20 years old. In 1931 the figure was not over 40 per cent. At least 10 per cent of the girls used to marry before they were 16 years old. In 1931 no girls were marrying before they were 16. The society also reported that no girls under 16 years of age had bound feet.

621 185 764 Funerals used to involve visits to the temples, hiring necromancers, engaging monks, and burning paper money, paper houses, and other paper equipment for the use of the dead. Much of this expense had been given up by 1931. It was reported that none of the Chai Ch'eng families were having monks for funerals. It was also stated that the families were using bows instead of kotows in connection with funerals. The kitchen

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gods and the gate gods generally had been given up by the Chai Ch'eng families.

The Admire the Sages Society was organized by the school teachers in 1906 to encourage the people to imitate the good people of the past. In 1913 other educated people were included in the society membership. The Mi brothers and other prominent men gave lectures at the one or two meetings that were held every year. After 1921 meetings were held only every three years. The principal of the village school could call a meeting of the society, but it was completely inactive in 1931.

Promotion of Agriculture

From 1904 to 1908 Ting Hsien suffered from drought and the farmers had poor crops. Mr. Mi, the village head, and his assistant, Mr. Hsü, consulted with the other village elders as to how they might encourage the villagers to dig wells to provide water for irrigation. In 1906 eight wells were dug on village land as a demonstration, prizes were offered to encourage the poor farmers to dig wells, and arrangements were made whereby farmers, in need of money to finance the cost of a well, might borrow half the cost of the necessary materials. The loans were to be repaid after the harvest. Over ten years' time more than one hundred wells were dug.

Following the success of this program, the village elders encouraged the owners of small fields to dig cooperative wells where the individual fields were not large enough to warrant the digging of separate wells. There was great need for such cooperation as the study of a group of 3,763 fields belonging to 1,136 families in four other villages showed that only 7.9 per cent of the fields had 10 or more mu, and only 0.7 per cent had 25 or more mu.[2] A good well could irrigate from 25 to 30 mu.

The village elders provided that where land was held by a mortgagee he should pay his share of the cost of digging a cooperative well but he should be repaid by the mortgagor when he redeemed the property. Where land was held under lease the owners should pay the cost of the well, but should be reimbursed by increasing the rent. The village elders set up regulations for settling disagreements between mortgagors and mortgagees and between tenants and landlords over the cost of the wells and the increased rent.

Village regulations provided for the care of the public wells and the

2. See Chapter X.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the various owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well. The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were being kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were assigned to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society, it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

3 Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven.

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狼, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals.

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death.

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941) 1948 AF12 North China AF12

185 but nevertheless it has begun to change.[19] While all phases of life are involved in change and continuity, only the general process of education is discussed in this section.

867 The process of education begins at infancy in the family. When
868 parents teach their children how to speak, they intentionally or un-
855 intentionally instruct their children to the continuity of the social heritage.

In the beginning the most important instructor is the mother rather than the father. As soon as infancy and childhood are over, about the age of six, boys and girls are divided. The mother still remains the main instructor of her daughter, but the latter begins to have more associates of the same sex of equal age or older age. She gradually learns to be a woman as her mother did before her.[20] Not only does she have to acquire a skill in cooking and doing other household work, but also she has to remember the ideology of womanhood and to practice the female virtues. The acquirement of a technical skill in household work is not a simple task. Here learning is by doing. Long years of apprenticeship at home will make her equal to the job of a house-wife. She is known to the villagers by her skill and character rather than by her beauty. Her marriage ability fluctuates directly with them.

With boys, the father gradually takes over the work of instruction from the mother. In a farmer's family, whether the father wishes his boy to be a farmer or not, the junior has to assist the senior in farming. Slowly the boy learns to handle agricultural implements, to know the nature of plants and crops, and to discriminate the differential fertility of the soil.

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19 "The folkways and mores of more stationary times hang over into a period of change. The failure to recognize the proper correlations cause difficulties in adjustment. The characteristics selected for the comparison of stationary societies and changing ones include experiment, fate and inevitability, the past and the future, elders and youth, authority, law, morals, mores, fashion, manners, suppression of human nature, individualization, caste and class, sentiment and ceremony, art, religion, radicals and conservatives, and the culture as a whole." — W. F. Ogburn, "Stationary and Changing Societies," in The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLII, No. 1, July, 1936, p. 16.

20 Margaret Mead has initiated anthropological study of primitive education which is very stimulating in this connection. See Growing Up in New Guinea, A Comparative Study of Primitive Education, New York, 1930; also Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, New York, 1936.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

which one-half represented opium. This indicates, then, only a little more than 40,000,000 taels ($55,555,556) of general imports. In 1925 imports had increased to 950,000,000 taels ($1,319,444,444). Exports increased from 78,000,000 taels ($108,333,333) to 775,000,000 taels ($1,076,388,889).

In exports and in the coastwise trade you see a steadily ascending curve. The total trade coming under the administration of the customs, shows an increase of from about 1,200,000,000 *taels* ($3,058,000,000) in 1916 to about 2,200,000,000 *taels* ($1,668,000,000) in 1925. That represents activity of all sorts, mainly in farming and in manufacturing, a tremendous amount of new activity that is going on, and new relations with foreign countries. The trade of Shanghai is now about five times what it was twenty-five years ago.[1]

Five other movements should be mentioned in this list of the changes taking place in China. The Renaissance Movement, the Student Movement, the newer nationalism, the introduction of the factory system and the Labor Movement.

(11) The Renaissance Movement, developed in Peking under the leadership of a group of intellectuals who were for the most part returned students from Europe and America, emphasized a literary revolution which popularized the use of the spoken language on the printed page and a general educational movement designed "to remake civilization" by the introduction into China of "democracy and science." Largely through the influence of monthly and weekly periodicals, which have appeared in increasing numbers since 1919, and by means of lectures given both by native and by foreign scholars, a profound change has taken place in the thinking of the educated classes.[2]

[1] *Addresses on China*, p. 9.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

873 (12) The Student Movement, with its local and nation-wide unions, shows its power first in its leadership in the demonstration against the signing by China of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, and again in 1925 after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, when it was the organized students who by lectures and the promotion of local demonstrations were the driving force behind the national protests against "unequal treaties." [1]

185 (13) A striking contrast between present-day China and China before the founding of the Republic is the increasing popular interest in the international status of the nation. This interest is spreading especially in the South and finds its chief expression in a popular demand for the revision of "unequal treaties." This movement crystallized and gained momentum after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, 1925, and has affected the official pronouncements of both the Northern and the Southern governments as manifested in the insistence on the rescinding of the special treaty rights held by foreigners residing in China.

178 (14) The development of the modern factory system has a direct bearing on the future of many types of guilds. The best available statistics of this development were compiled by the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information. The following figures, which show the rapid increase of factories and the magnitude of investment in modern type industry, were sent to the writer by Mr. M. A. Gilbert, General Secretary of the Bureau:

The first establishment in the form of a factory came into existence as early as 1862, when Viceroy Tseng Kuo-fan of

[1] Dr. Tsi C. Wang has vividly portrayed the activities of the Student Movement in his book, *The Youth Movement* (New York, 1927). The Renassaince Movement, the Student Movement and the demonstrations against Christianity are all shown by Dr. Wang to be aspects of the awakening of the youth of China.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

A. The Values of the Guild System

Without re-emphasizing[1] the socially harmful aspects and inherent limitations of these ancient institutions, certain of the values or socially beneficial features of guild life at its best may be summarized as follows:

1. Personal face-to-face relationship in local shops or stores that made possible friendly understanding between masters, journeymen and apprentices.

2. The relatively easy adjustment of difficulties between the employer and the employees and the absence of any considerable amount of class strife.

3. The equalization of opportunity afforded by the guild system for the capable to pass through the apprentice and journeymen stages to the position of master.

continuance under a Republican system of the Board of Censors composed of aged and respected officials who restrain and advise those actually in control of the Peking Government. The advocacy by the Peoples Party of the "Committee System" of government control corresponding to the village and town method of control by groups of elders and gentry, is another illustration of the incorporation of a very old and familiar governmental method in a Western-style political system. The plan of rotating chairmen in this Committee System is similar to that of guild organization.

The aim of the progressive Chinese leaders of the Christian Church is to create an "indigenous Church." Forms and ceremonies out of harmony with China's structural heritage are being discarded, and adaptations in Church organization and modes of worship are being made.

The necessity for reorganizing the educational system, which has been largely a direct copy from the West, and of adapting education to China's needs is recognized by such progressive educators as Dr. Chiang Men Lin, formerly Chancellor of the National Government University in Peking.

Remarkable efficiency and ingenuity in combining Chinese educational material with efficient Western educational method have been manifested by James Y. C. Yen and his corps of Western-trained Chinese educators in the Mass Education Movement, which in its organized classes throughout the provinces has enrolled over two million persons for the study of textbooks based on one thousand selected characters.

[1] *Cf.* p. 213.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

178 ship and values associated with them, and to a gradual building up of a Western-style competitive industrial and commercial system.

The present lack of stability in the government of China gives little hope either of enforceable legislation to mitigate the harmful results of this rapid economic transformation or of control of industry and commerce. The continuance of the system of special exemption from taxation[1] of foreign merchants and manufacturers doing business in China, of foreign customs control and of foreign concessions, makes it still more difficult for the government to have any control of the course of the economic revolution.

As P. Henry has put it, the "crux of the whole matter" is the surplus of labor in the large cities. With several potential applicants for every job, no change for the better in the conditions of labor and no favorable reorganization of the structure of industry seem probable.[2]

(3) MOVEMENTS AND TENDENCIES THAT MAY SERVE AS A MEANS FOR CONSERVING CERTAIN VALUES OF OLD GUILD LIFE

178 185 The independent efforts of socially-minded Chinese and foreign manufacturers to improve the conditions[3] of labor and the voluntary acceptance by many of them of the purely advisory standards regarding conditions and hours of labor promulgated by the Peking Government in 1923,[4] would indicate a hopeful interest on the part of many employers.

The intellectual and political leaders associated with the present nationalist movement have very definitely espoused

[1] Raymond T. Rich, *Extraterritoriality and Tariff Autonomy in China* (Shanghai, 1925), pp. 46-7.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

the cause of labor.[1] They are discontented with the present conditions of industry and many of them are opposed to the present form of industrial organization and control. What form of labor legislation or what methods of industrial regulation and control they may eventually adopt depends largely on which of the various factions within the Peoples Party eventually controls that political group. But that continued efforts to mitigate the harmful social effects of the present economic revolution will be put forth, seems probable.

The Protestant Churches of China, as represented by the National Christian Council in Shanghai, in recent years have championed with considerable effect the reform in the con-

[1] The following principles of the Nationalist Party related to matters of labor were worked out and adopted at a national conference of the *Kuo Min Tang* at Canton, August, 1926:

1. To enact labor legislation.
2. To enact an eight-hour day, and to prohibit work for longer than ten hours daily.
3. To work for a minimum wage.
4. To prohibit the use of child labor, the age limit being fourteen years.
5. To modify the existing apprenticeship system.
6. To provide for payment for sixty days for women workers at the time of childbirth.
7. To improve sanitation in industrial plants and to avert industrial accidents.
8. To provide for freedom of association, speech and press for all workers.
9. To advocate manhood suffrage.
10. To promote workers' education.
11. To promote cooperative societies.
12. To control conditions of "contract work," or farming out of work to home workers.
13. To recognize the legal status of trade unions.
14. To assist effective organizations of workers.
15. To obtain payment for workers for rest days and holidays.

Cf. also, Yang, Kwang Sheng, "The Growth of Nationalism," *Current History*, vol. xxvi, no. 3, pp. 250-263.

4. Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

178 185

ditions of women and children in industry.[1] They recommended to the International Missionary Council held at Jerusalem, March 24–April 8, 1928, that action be taken against certain features of the Western economic exploitation of peoples in China and elsewhere where early forms of industrial organization still largely prevail.[2] This recommendation met with favorable action on the part of the conference.

The advocates, both Chinese and Russian, of a system of industry and commerce modeled after that of Soviet Russia have since 1925 had considerable influence on an important faction in the Peoples Party. Although for the present this group has little power in China, there is no possible prediction as to its influence in the future.[3]

[1] Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 91, 111, 124.

[2] *Findings of the National Conference of Christianizing Economic Relations*, Shanghai, Aug. 18-28, 1927, pp. 10-11.

"2. That there is need for more missionary work in the training of Christian industrial leaders for the purpose of bringing about favorable working conditions in all industries and promoting better relationship between employers and employees.

"3. That missionaries, and Christian people they represent, should exert their influence individually and collectively upon international trade, in order that trade which is harmful to the people of the buying countries may be restricted or abolished, while it is recognized that trade in useful commodities should be developed to the benefit of all concerned.

"4. That the missionary movement should use its influence to see that any foreign investments of capital in borrowing countries be made only on equitable terms of mutual benefit without any motive or possibility of political aggression.

"5. That when foreign industrial enterprises are established in countries where industrial conditions are less satisfactory, foreign employers should be encouraged to set a standard consistent with the best practices in their own countries and to use their influence towards the general applications of such standard.

"6. That the Christian Church should keep itself ready to cooperate with the labor movements which have for their chief object the improvement of the working conditions and the uplifting of the laborers."

[3] Monroe, *China: A Nation in Evolution*, pp. 209-233; Millard, T. F., *China—Where It Is Today and Why*, pp. 181-187; Nearing, Scott,

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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185.

It would, of course, be incorrect to characterize Russian influence and propaganda in China as definitely directed toward the conservation of the values of old Chinese industrial and commercial life. Soviet influence is, rather, simply another type of cultural interpenetration inducing China to adopt a particular Western economic and political system. Our justification for including the influences of Soviet Russia among the forces here listed is that this influence is directed against the exploitation of labor and that certain features of the Soviet system emphasize the importance of local group cooperation and deprecate unrestricted competition. These last-mentioned features have their counterpart in the old guild system.

Of importance to all groups seeking in any way to modify the existing conditions, processes and organization of industry and commerce along lines better adapted to ancient habits of thought and forms of social organization, is a thorough knowledge of the cultural and social background of China. The growing interest in social research in China is a factor in our problem.[1]

Whither China (New York, 1928), pp. 62-92; Gannett, Lewis S., *Young China* (New York, 1926), pp. 32-36; Chen, Ta, *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 22-23.

[1] Franklin C. H. Lee, "The Social Survey Movement in China" (in Chinese), *Sociological World* (Peking), June, 1927, pp. 79-100.

The Chinese Mass Education Movement with its national organization in Peking and its program to eliminate illiteracy in China maintains a special research bureau of trained investigators who have been engaged particularly in rural research. In 1925 the China Foundation in Peking (supported by the interest on the second American Boxer Indemnity Refund) organized its Bureau of Social and Economic Research under the able leadership of Dr. L. K. Tao, formerly of the National Government University, Peking. Important investigations of rural industrial life and of the standard of living in North China are being conducted by this Bureau. The Institute of Pacific Relations which last met in Honolulu, July, 1927, has under way important research projects in China. The National Government University, Yenching University of